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## THE ORIGINS OF LEADERSHIP. II

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EBEN MUMFORD  
University of Chicago

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*Leadership, occupations, and institutions in relation to the problems and crises arising in the expression of social impulses and interests.*—The basal problems and crises of the associate life originate in connection with the expression of the fundamental instincts, impulses, and interests of the organism in the process of adaptation to the physical and social environment, and it is in relation to the expression of these social tendencies, largely through occupational activities, that leadership and institutions are developed. The interests which are absolutely essential to the existence and perpetuation of society are the nutritive and reproductive, and all the occupations bear a close relation to the realization of these functions.

The problems connected with food-getting are persistent, specific, and imperious. While they occupy but a small part of the attention of some of the members of the more advanced societies, for the great majority of people they are now, as ever, among the dominant factors in the associate life. With the development of society they increase in complexity and variety, but in all stages of advancement they give opportunity for the expression and social recognition of various kinds of ability, and for the growth of leadership and personality.

The complex of reproductive interests, including the parental and filial impulses, is fundamental to the associational series in all its different degrees of development. It is one of the primal and most essential of the group-forming forces, and, as it is vital to the maintenance of association, its problems furnish one of the chief demands upon leadership. Under this group we may comprise all the functions by which new members are introduced into the group and trained or educated for the various social activities. Accordingly, it would include the functions of birth, pre-ado-

lescent and adolescent education, marriage, and, in general, all of the domestic relations and occupations. The problems of this group of interests occur with a certain regularity, and so can be anticipated. They, therefore, cause less of a shock to the social relations than the more violent and irregular changes, and tend to be assimilated more readily to the existing institutions. Nevertheless, they present problems of a specific character, and each particular case demands the adjustment of the customs and institutions to the special needs of the situation. The activities connected with these interests, therefore, become very important centers of leadership and institutional life.

While the nutritive and reproductive impulses and interests constitute the ultimate and irreducible factors of the life-process, there is a large number of other forces, even in the most primitive societies, which exercise a profound influence upon leadership and institutions. Among these we may mention as primary the acquisitive impulses or property interests, the governmental or political interests, and the religious, ethical, educational, aesthetic, sociability, and health interests.

The acquisitive impulses or property interests find expression through almost all of the different occupations. Among the primary sources of social activity these interests occupy a very prominent place. Acquisitiveness is one of the most potent of the innate social impulses and, under the influence of the various social conditions, gives rise to the different forms of property relations and institutions. Beginning with the defense and extension of food areas among the lower animals and primitive men, and the demand such activity makes for the superior individual, the acquisitive impulses grow to be among the most constant sources of attention in all grades of human societary development, and they originate some of the most vital and complex problems of association. Because of the intense interest and attention which have been bestowed upon the acquisition and ownership of property, and of the great variety and complexity of the problems that have arisen in this connection, these appropriative forces become one of the chief centers for the expression of personality and leadership. With the development of associate life, social

recognition and influence come to be associated with the ownership of property and the ability to acquire wealth. Ownership then becomes one of the principal means for securing the esteem of associates, and so of self-esteem and self-realization. The psychology of the powerful influence which property plays in societary life is pointed out by Professor James when he says :

Between what a man calls *me* and what he simply calls *mine* the line is difficult to draw. . . . *In its widest possible sense, a man's Me is the sum total of all he can call his*, not only his body and his psychic powers, but his clothes and his house, his wife and his children, his ancestors and friends, his reputation and his works, his lands and horses and yacht and bank account.

Possession of property, therefore, is one of the chief factors in the extension and development of the personality, in securing honor and influence and leadership in the group, and this social recognition, in turn, tends to reinforce the individual's consciousness of self and to increase his confidence in his ability to exercise the function of leadership.

The need of a direct control of the interactions of groups, and of individuals and groups, calls for particular occupations, such as those of chiefs, kings, judges, lawgivers, and the different civil and military officials required for the various political functions; and this activity issues in those habitual forms of social life called political institutions. The crucial importance of the preservation of the political group for all other forms of association has given it the central position in the attention of the historian. Upon the successful solution of the grave problems arising in connection with this phase of the associate life—as, for example, in wars for defense or aggression—has depended the very existence of all other phases of association, and hence the high esteem in which the efficient leaders in this kind of activity have been held. Wars and conquests are the most vehement forms of social activity, and they produce the most dangerous crises which the political group has to meet. Moreover, these crises occur irregularly, and so are more difficult to anticipate and control than many of the other forms of social exigencies. Consequently, they have been among the most potent sources of leadership and institutions.

<sup>23</sup> *Psychological*, Vol. I, p. 291.

War makes an urgent demand for leaders with great courage, persistence, and endurance, and with ability to organize and control others, and to form decisions rapidly, yet carefully, and then to act promptly, forcefully, and efficiently. In addition to these personal qualities, war has also furnished a strong stimulus to the inventor, investigator, mathematician, and technologist. However, there is danger of overemphasis of the influence of wars, conquests, and migrations in the evolution of institutions. The less intense problems of controlling intertribal and international relations, and the many interactions of groups within the larger political groups, as well as the relations of these groups to the particular individuals, if not so exigent, have been a more constant and regular source of leadership and of customs and institutions. To enumerate even a part of these relations would consume more time and space than can be given here, and we can only hope to touch upon their significance to the evolution of leadership and institutions in the treatment of the more concrete material that is to follow. We may note, in passing, the civil and criminal violations of customs, which constitute another set of problems or crises in the political phase of association, and which occur at uncertain intervals and create a demand for specially qualified leaders, and originate definite occupations such as that of the police, lawgiver, and judge.

The constant introduction of new individuals into the group by birth causes another problematic relationship which is the source of one of the principal branches of the function of leadership. Each child comes into the group with certain native tendencies to social activity. It is a bundle of unformed potentialities for social action. On the other hand, the group into which the child is born has acquired certain definite modes of associating, certain fairly well formed channels of social conduct into which the activities of each new unit must be directed. It is evident that a contrast or discrepancy, depending upon the stage of development reached by the group, will exist between these new members and the customs or institutions of the group. The necessity for continuity in the life-process of the group calls for an adaptive process between the new units and the institu-

tions. The social tendencies of the child must be shaped and directed in accordance with the organized modes of associating which have proved useful to the group. The problems arising in connection with this phase of the adaptive process make the demand for the teacher as leader, and, with the development of complexity in the social process, for a teaching profession and educational institutions. At first the educative functions are assumed by the women of the group, and in particular by the mother. The mother is the first teacher—especially is this true among the primitive peoples—and, as a rule, she is the principal teacher during the pre-adolescent period of the child. But among the more primitive peoples the discrepancy between the attainments of the group and endowments of the child is comparatively small, and the educational period is correspondingly brief. The customs and traditions are few and the occupations simple, and as a result the time required for the teacher to bring the child up to the institutional level of his group is comparatively short when compared with the period of training required of the modern child for the most efficient social action. In primitive society, with the advent of the adolescent period the youth passes from the more direct control of the mother and women of the tribe, and is initiated into the duties and privileges of manhood and womanhood, which means the enlarging of the circle of control and leadership to include the whole group. The adolescent period, with its rapid and important physical and psychical changes, its new and powerful social impulses, its enthusiasms, ideals, and hero-worship, and its high state of suggestibility, has in all stages of human association been one of the most prominent centers of leadership. The problematic features of this crucial period in the social development of the individual have called for the attention, not only of parents, but also of physicians, teachers, and the clergy. It is almost universally recognized by primitive peoples, and is the source of some of their most sacred rites and ceremonies, forming, in fact, the beginning of public educational institutions.<sup>24</sup> Both in Greece and in Rome careful attention was given to this period, and in the church it has been the time of

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Hall, *Adolescence*, Vol. II, pp. 232 ff.

confirmation. But even in modern society only a slight beginning has been made toward a historical and scientific study of the phenomena of this critical stage. Recently it has been receiving the attention of some of the best leadership of the educational world.

The constant presence of disease, suffering, and death in all stages of human societary development introduces into the social relations another set of irregularly recurring crises which have had no inconsiderable effect upon the development of leadership and institutions. The intense desire for the cure of disease and relief of pain, and the highly problematic nature of these abnormal conditions, have always been strong stimuli to the efforts of certain types of individuals for meeting these crises. Not only is the medical profession a result of these crises, but they have also been strong stimuli to the development of several branches of science.

The very essence of the religious impulses and interests is bound up with the leadership function and its correlates. The religious activity is largely personal, and the relationship of the persons is that of superiority and subordination. On the side of the follower there are faith, reverence, obedience, awe, love, and gratitude, and the desire for help and direction in all the difficulties and crises of life; while on the side of the leader or deity there are idealized all of the leadership qualities, such as wisdom, power, and foresight. The problems relating to this interest also give rise to a distinct occupation or profession, and institutions grow up about the greater religious and political leaders, whom memory tends to deify.

This enumeration of social impulses and interests, while in no way complete, is probably sufficient to illustrate the general relationship of occupational activity, leadership, and institutions to the expression of these forces. Certain impulses and interests are so important to the existence and development of association that they tend to draw about them one or more occupations in which groups of persons find the problems which engage most of their attention throughout life, and who form habits in conformity to the nature of the activity so constantly pursued. These

occupations constitute the principal channels for self-realization, and so they furnish the chief standards for comparing the value of individuals in the promotion of the social process. Those most efficient in meeting the problems and emergencies arising in the expression of the different impulses and interests become the leaders. In a general way it may be said that there are two kinds of leadership in relation to the occupations: (1) That which belongs to the occupations as such. This is most clearly exemplified in what are called the professions; as, for example, in medicine, where the physician is the leader of the whole community with reference to the problematic conditions involved in disease and accident. (2) That which exists within the occupation or profession. Within every occupation there are those who are leaders, either by virtue of superior ability for control of the difficulties involved in the vocation, or because of exceptional devotion of time and energy to the interests which the occupation serves. Specialism may be regarded as a subdivision of this class of leadership. Institutions are the ossification or crystallization, so to speak, of the successful portions of the occupational activity put forth in the expression of the social impulses, and so follow, not precede, the development of personality and leadership.

#### IV. LEADERSHIP AND SOCIAL STRUCTURES AND FUNCTIONS FROM THE GENETIC POINT OF VIEW

*Hunting peoples.*—In the investigation that follows, the attempt will be made to give a genetic account of the conditions which stimulate the growth of personality, of the authoritative personage, the specialist, the leader, and of the reflective and reconstructive processes which this leader initiates, guides, or organizes, and their crystallization into institutional life. For this purpose we begin with the hunting type of activity, which was the dominant one in the associate life until comparatively recent times. It is still the chief type of societary activity among the lower animals and the nature peoples, and, in comparison with the period of its duration in the associational series, all the other types, such as the agricultural, pastoral, manufacturing, and trading, have had but a very brief existence. The effects of



the long-continued dominance of this kind of activity have not been effaced by the later occupations, but are deeply rooted in the psycho-physical organism and in a very true sense form the foundation of the social structure of modern civilization. That the hunting type of activity is instinctive in human beings seems to be fairly well established by the evidence. The impulses to this kind of activity appear, with greater or less intensity, in all individuals of all races, and in some they are very strong, though of course they have been greatly modified by the changed environments and the different experiences of modern civilizations. The ease and avidity with which all classes in modern society turn to this type of activity for their recreation is also evidence of its instinctive character. The fact of its universality and its fundamental importance, both in primitive and in civilized society, makes the study of the phenomena connected with it of the highest value for a scientific comprehension of the social process.

Using the term in a broad sense, it may be said that the hunting type of associate life is based upon a complex of instincts, such as hunting or pursuit, fighting, playing, and gaming. It includes all of the more direct, spontaneous, highly intense, and emotional forms of societary activity, such as are found in the chase, the feud, the duel, the prize-fight, war, and gambling, and in play and the great variety of games and recreative activities, such as golf, tennis, baseball, football, billiards, dramatic performances, and theater-going.<sup>25</sup> It has been rightly pointed out that the element of conflict is very prominent in this kind of activity, but the fact should not be overlooked that the co-operative phase of association is also exceptionally strong here, its distinguishing characteristics being found rather in its intensity, immediacy, and spontaneity; in the comparative directness with which response follows stimulus, and the brief and rapid nature of the reflective processes and the great emotional excitement which accompanies it. There is rapt attention, largely of the spontaneous sort, so that there is less conflict of impulses and ideas and less effort involved than in the more roundabout, reflective types of activity. The problems are such as require very quick decisions

<sup>25</sup> C. Thomas, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. VI, pp. 750 ff.

and response to stimulus. It involves a high degree of the perilous, precarious, and strategical, and demands severe and strained attention. Such activity is, therefore, absorbing and fascinating in the extreme, and is radically different from the longer, more roundabout, highly reflective processes, where considerable time elapses between the stimulus and response, and where attention and effort are prolonged, and the motor phase of the process is not so conspicuous or important. In his study of the gaming instinct, Professor Thomas<sup>26</sup> has shown that modern employments are attractive just in the degree in which they contain the highly problematic and vicissitudinous elements which characterize the hunting type of activity, and that the irksomeness of labor is limited chiefly to those occupations in which these elements are eliminated or greatly reduced, so that the activity is of a routine and monotonous character.

In addition to the more general qualities of the hunting activity as a type, there are a number of more special characteristics belonging to it in the narrower sense—i. e., as the principal method of obtaining food in a group. Where a tribe depends upon the hunting of animals for the larger part of its food, the process assumes a much more serious aspect, and almost all of the characteristics of the type, as mentioned above, are intensified. Catching or killing animals requires the most rapid and accurate movements, strained attention, and complete absorption in the process. Under such extreme tension, though of brief duration, there is a vehement stirring of the emotions. Success is attended with excessive joy, and defeat is followed by deep disappointment and dejection. A high degree of co-operation of the associatants and of co-ordination of all their movements is often absolutely essential for overcoming the superior motor capacities of the animals. It is a life-and-death struggle on both sides and in it man's powers of co-operation and conflict and inventiveness are often taxed to the utmost.

Though for the primitive man hunting is an essential occupation, and one that must be followed with a certain degree of regularity, yet it does not cease to be fascinating, as is evidenced,

<sup>26</sup> *Loc. cit.*, pp. 750 ff.

in part, by the fact that the men reserve that phase of the groupal activity to themselves, and assign the more passive and routine phases to the women, such as collecting vegetable food and small animals, moving the camp, or carrying home the game. Its attractiveness is also further demonstrated by the reluctance with which it is abandoned for other pursuits requiring more constant care and attention, though they may afford a less precarious existence. Nieboer, whose work attests a wide knowledge of hunting peoples, gives the following excellent characterization of this type of associating, in which we may also see the reason for its irresistible charm :

Hunting is never a drudgery, but always a noble and agreeable work. Occupying the whole soul and leaving no room for distracting thought; offering the hunter a definite aim to which he can reach by one mighty effort of strength and skill; uncertain in its results like a battle, and promising the glory of victory over a living creature; elevating the whole person—in a word, intoxicating.<sup>27</sup>

While the hunting peoples as a rule possess a small degree of institutional development, nowhere have we found any evidence, even among the lowest groups, that they lack in skill and interest in the activity upon which their livelihood depends, and, in many cases, the ability manifested is marvelous to those whose occupations have not required such a training. The life of primitive peoples is so often described in merely negative terms that it is well to emphasize the more positive factors in their activity. The key to the situation, not only for primitive groups, but also for more advanced peoples, is given by Spencer and Gillen when, after speaking of the conspicuous ability of the native Australians in such activities as tracking, and in memory of events intimately concerned with their welfare, they say: "Their mental powers are simply developed along lines which are of service to them in their daily life." The illustration of this principle, taken from Australian life, which follows, may be regarded as typical of the discipline of the hunting activity. As a source of leadership, note should also be made of the differences in the ability of the natives as shown in the illustration :

<sup>27</sup> *Slavery as an Industrial System*, p. 193.

Not only does the native know the track of every beast and bird, but after examining any burrow he will at once, from the direction in which the last track runs, tell you whether the animal is at home or not. . . . Whilst they can all follow tracks which would be indistinguishable to the average white man, there is a great difference in their ability to track when the tracks become obscure. The difference is so marked that, while an ordinary good tracker will have difficulty in following them while he is on foot, and so can see them close to, a really good one will unerringly follow them up on horse or camel back. Not only this, but, strange, as it may sound to the average white man whose meals are not dependent upon his ability to track an animal to its burrow or hiding place, the native will recognize the footprint of every individual of his acquaintance.<sup>28</sup>

Speaking in general of the influence of occupations upon the Columbian Indians of the northwest coast of North America, Bancroft says:

West of the Cascade Range the highest position is held by the tribes who in their canoes pursue the whale upon the ocean and in the effort to capture Leviathan become themselves great and daring, as compared with the lowest order who live upon shell-fish and whatever nutritious substances may be cast by the tide upon the beach.<sup>29</sup>

And of the different tribes of the Columbians, the superiority of the inland hunting groups over the fishing tribes of the seashore is generally recognized by the students of the two cultures. The food supply of the coast tribes is probably much more abundant, but, with the exception of the capture of whales, the skill required for securing the food is less than that of the inland tribes. On the coast a sufficient amount of food is obtained with comparatively little effort, and the people become more indolent and sluggish, aside from the fact that there is not as great a degree of physical and mental development from fishing as from hunting activity. The hunting life requires more intelligence, greater energy, and skill, and a higher type of motor activity. These are concrete illustrations of the more abstract principle stated in the introduction to this discussion; i. e., that the different conscious processes occupy a modal relationship to the social process, and are called into being as aids to the more efficient control of the physical and social environment. Mental development,

<sup>28</sup> *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 24, 25.

<sup>29</sup> *Native Tribes of the Pacific Coast*, Vol. I, p. 153.

therefore, as well as the character of the institutional life, depends upon the nature of the activity required in a particular group to meet the conditions of the existence and growth of the group. From these illustrations, too, can be seen the general conditions in which leadership may originate. The superiority of some individuals in the control of the food-process or other interests makes them the leaders, while the nature of the groupal activity may determine the superiority and leadership of a particular group over other groups, or its inferiority and subservience to them.

#### V. EVOLUTION OF LEADERSHIP IN THE PREMATERNAL STAGE OF ASSOCIATION

The general nature of the hunting activity has been touched upon and it now remains to consider some typical hunting groups of different levels of development in order to determine more specifically the nature of the problems and crises of this type of association and therefore the stimuli and the personal qualities which determine leadership, as well as the habits of thought or customs and institutions created by the discipline of this kind of associate life. Both social structures and functions, as we find them in modern civilized society, are the products of long ages of growth. As we have seen, the simplest forms of social structure are found in instinctive activity, and from this may be traced all degrees of development and combination of instinctive and rational activity up to the most highly organized forms of institutional life in which are represented the maximum of social consciousness, of adaptability, and of control of the physical and social environment through purposive adjustment of means to consciously formulated ends. The lower we descend in the associational series, the less do we find of the institutional modes of control and of the control exercised through personality and the organized forms of leadership and authority.

In the associations of the lower animals instinctive activity predominates. In comparison with human beings, they possess a simpler nervous system and a corresponding lack in mental ability, and therefore, possess but a small degree of adaptability to new environmental conditions. With the possible exception of

some of the higher animals, the reasoning processes probably enter only in a slight degree into the adaptive activities of the animal associations, and consequently there is little basis for institutional development. But while there are no institutions among the lower animals, the fact should not be overlooked that they do possess social *structures* in the forms of numerous instinctive associative activities. They have many of the fundamental social impulses which human beings possess, and they should not be excluded from the social realm simply because these social impulses are expressed largely through hereditary mechanisms. While we cannot say that they have property institutions, matrimonial institutions, political institutions, etc., they do acquire property and have matrimonial relations and political activities. The social structures at this stage are the most rigid and unadaptable known to the associational series, and where social ends are reached in such a comparatively automatic and unconscious manner, there is but little opportunity for the development of consciousness of self or for the expression of personality. Leadership at this stage is also predominantly instinctive. There are no definitely organized modes of selecting a leader or a group of leaders, but in certain of the common undertakings, and in particular those which contain some degree of the novel, critical, or dangerous, a stronger or older member of the group will assume the leadership, assisting the group in the expression of its social impulses and directing the adaptive process in so far as the flexibility of the movements at this stage permit of an element of accommodation to problematic situations or emergencies. However, the need of leadership where ends are reached in this instinctive way is not so great as on the higher levels of development, where the reflective processes play a much larger part and where the complexity of social life introduces numerous problematic conditions.

With the transition to human beings, there is a more highly developed nervous system, and a correspondingly greater mental ability for the control of the conditions of the associate life. With the very complex and elaborate processes of memory, imagination, reasoning, and volitional activity, human beings are vastly

more effective than the lower animals in the control they can exert over the environment through associative activity. In man there is a greater variety of innate social impulses than in the lower animals, and, by virtue of his stronger and more elaborate mental powers, there is a far greater plasticity and adaptability in the expression of these impulses. Although the innate impulses remain as the basal forces in the human social process, they are greatly modified by individual and groupal experience, and out of them proceed innumerable acquired interests. But in the social process of human beings the social structures and functions vary greatly in their degrees of development, and a study of the nature and causes of these variations should throw considerable light upon our problem.

The simplest forms of human social structures and functions are probably to be found in what has been called the pre-matriarchal stage of association. It has been so styled from

the fact that ideas of kinship are so feeble that no extensive social filiation is effected through this principle, in consequence of which the group has not reached the tribal stage of organization on the basis of kinship, but remains in the biological relation of male, female, and offspring.<sup>80</sup>

This primitive human stage is exemplified by such groups as the Veddahs, Bushmen, Fuegians, Point Barrow Eskimos, Botucudos, and Tasmanians. The Veddahs live in very small groups, which have but little communication with each other. Their occupations consist chiefly in the chase and in collecting of edible plants and small animals; there is no division of labor except that between the sexes; there is no system of caste or slavery; each group has its headman, whose position depends upon age, energy, and skill, and whose authority is very limited and temporary. Because of their meager food resources, the Bushmen live a comparatively solitary life in small hordes; there is very little of what may be called institutional life, even the family unions being of the most transitory nature; there are no hereditary or elected chiefs, though the temporary leaders are notably superior to their followers in physique; they occasionally join in plundering expeditions under the guidance of a leader; there is no conception

<sup>80</sup> Thomas, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. III, p. 762.

of a Supreme Being. The Fuegians live principally on shellfish, and because of the scarcity of the food supply and their method of obtaining food, they are constantly changing about; they live in very small groups and recognize no chiefs in the usual sense of the word, leadership being temporary and acquired through age and experience; as a rule, the small groups have little relations with each other, with the exception of temporary unions for defense in their desultory wars, which are not under the direction of an organized leadership. Of the Botucudos Keane says:

There is no common bond of union between the different clans, which are grouped in separate communities of from ten to twenty families, occupying no fixed territory except certain hunting grounds which are tacitly recognized by the neighboring tribes; any encroachment on these lands leads to tribal disputes and quarrels, which are usually settled by a sort of duel between the champions of the respective factions, but which end occasionally in a free fight all round; a successful champion often becomes the chief or headman of the community, but he enjoys little personal authority, nor is the office hereditary, so that it is difficult to conceive of a lower state of social organization.<sup>31</sup>

Marriage is temporary, though not promiscuous; they believe in the influence of good and bad spirits, but have formed no idea of a Supreme Being. Among the Tasmanians there were no hereditary chiefs, and leadership depended purely upon personal qualities, such as exceptional skill in the chase or courage in the defense of the hunting territory; the leadership thus acquired was temporary and secured no institutional recognition.<sup>32</sup>

These illustrations may be taken as typical of the pre-matriarchal stage of societary development. They present certain characteristics in common. The food resources are meager; the population of the various groups is small; all of the interactions are of a simple, undifferentiated sort; they have but few contacts with other peoples, and there is no division of labor except that between the sexes; the life is nomadic, and there is but little permanency in their relations; as a rule they are peaceable, what wars they have being of an unorganized character; the two funda-

<sup>31</sup> *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XIII, p. 199.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Bonwick, *Daily Life of the Tasmanians*, p. 81.



mental functions of co-operation and conflict are both comparatively vague and indeterminate in character; there are few intense social stimuli or difficult problems, and consequently but a small demand for strong personalities and highly reflective processes which precede the definite and well-organized social activities which we call institutions; leadership is temporary, sporadic, and unauthoritative, and has not been institutionalized; there is but little direct personal control entering into their associational life; social stimuli are not sufficient in number or intensity to arouse either a high degree of group-consciousness or of consciousness of self; the training is not favorable to the growth of personality; the kind of conditions under which such groups associate are also unfavorable to the growth of any definite and coherent customs and traditions centering about the activities and personality of mythical or real heroes and ancestors. Traditions and customs imply a certain degree of memory and reflective consciousness based upon social relationships having a permanency of three or four generations, at least, and the interactions of these groups are too shifting and indefinite to permit the growth of any considerable body of traditions. In the pre-matriarchal stage there is some private property in movable articles, such as weapons and utensils, but there is no private property in land and no definite tribal boundaries, the communal ownership of the land by the group being only tacitly recognized by neighboring groups. Private property has received no institutional expression at this stage, and institutionalization of the matrimonial, political, educational, and religious relations can scarcely be said to have begun.

Having noted the meager amount of institutional and personal control of associational conditions in the pre-matriarchal stage, we may now take up some more advanced groups to discover, if possible, the relation between the development of personality, authority, and leadership and that of institutions. The Andamanese or "Mincopies," who were usually classed among the most primitive groups before the more careful study of them by E. H. Man, may be regarded as forming a sort of transition between the pre-matriarchal groups and the larger and better-organized matriarchal groups. They present many conditions in

common with the pre-matriarchal groups discussed above, being hunters and fishermen, and living a peaceable and comparatively isolated life. As they have few contacts with foreign peoples, one of the principal groups of stimuli to the development of leadership is absent—i. e., conflict with other peoples. Consequently, whatever leadership there is must be with reference to certain infra-tribal problems, such as arise in connection with the acquisition of a food supply, migrations, the settlement of disputes, the family life, religious activity, etc. But they differ from the former groups in having more abundant food resources. This allows a more settled life, nomadism being confined to one tribe on the shore, and “even among them there are hamlets which are only abandoned temporarily.”<sup>33</sup> The influence of the greater stability in their social relations is manifested by the permanency of the marriage tie, the beginnings of political organization, of the hereditary principle, and of the division of labor. Property in land, however, is communal. Each tribe has a head-chief, who usually resides at a permanent encampment, and has authority over the elders or sub-chiefs. The latter are in authority over each community, consisting of from twenty to fifty individuals.

The power of the chiefs is very limited and is not necessarily hereditary, though in the event of a grown son being left who was qualified for the post, he would, in most instances, be selected to succeed his father in preference to any other individual of equal efficiency. . . . Social status is dependent not merely on the accident of relationship, but on skill in hunting, fishing, etc., and on a reputation for generosity and hospitality. A certain pre-eminence is assigned those who excel as hunters or fishermen, and such are usually found to be chosen as chiefs or headmen of a community. The chiefs and elders are almost invariably superior in every respect to the rest.<sup>34</sup>

It is a significant fact in the development of leadership that the settlement of disputes is at first usually through the intervention of the chief, as in the case of the Andamanese. He thus acts as an inhibitive factor upon the more immediate and irrational process of punishment as represented in the blood-feud, and seems

<sup>33</sup> Man, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XII, p. 108.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

to be the earliest center about which grows up a rational settlement of difficulties through law and the judgeship. Because of the intimate relation of leadership to religion and the development of the concept of personality as related to deities, it is well to note here that the Andamanese have no forms of worship, but that "there is a vague belief in Puluga, an immortal, invisible being."<sup>35</sup> Growth of personality through leadership must precede any clear and well-defined ideas of the personal attributes of a deity. The dawn of the concept of personality among these peoples is reflected in their vague belief in a deity.

#### VI. EVOLUTION OF LEADERSHIP AND INSTITUTIONS IN THE MATRIARCHAL AND PATRIARCHAL STAGES OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

*Leadership in relation to customs and institutions from the point of view of myths and traditions.*—When society arrives at the maternal or paternal system of organization, there is sufficient stability in social relations to permit of the growth of myths and traditions, and we have another source of information in regard to the evolution of the function of leadership and of institutions. In primitive society, without the use of printing and books, the only source of information on the early life of the group is to be found in the oral traditions and myths. Almost without exception the primitive peoples of the stages of development under consideration ascribe the founding and changing of their customs and institutions to some great leader, usually conceived as a deity or as quasi-divine.

The excellent investigations of Spencer and Gillen have shown that the natives of central Australia have a comparatively rich traditional life, and that their whole past life is bound up with totemic ceremonies,

each of which is concerned with the doings of certain mythical ancestors who are supposed to have lived in the dim past, to which the natives give the name of the Alcheringa.<sup>36</sup>

The exceptional leaders of that period were called *Oknirabata*, which

<sup>35</sup> Keane, *Man, Past and Present*, p. 169.

<sup>36</sup> *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 119.

means a great instructor or teacher, and it is at the present day applied to the wise old men who are learned in tribal customs and teach them to the others. It is a name only given to men who are both old and wise . . . and is regarded as a very high distinction.<sup>37</sup>

To these leaders is ascribed the founding of the various customs and institutions, of the ceremonies which control the food supply, of the complex marriage systems, etc. To them are also accredited various modifications which have been made in these customs. The profound influence which these traditions have upon their life is to be seen in the remarkable continuity in their social relations, extending down through their history. So complete is this that each individual is believed to be the direct reincarnation of an Alcheringa ancestor, or the spirit of some Alcheringa animal. This belief is also an important aid to the establishment of the principle of inheritance, and cases are given where leaders trace the right to their position back to an ancestral leader of the Alcheringa times. Because of the important relation of leadership to the development of personality and the consciousness of self, we may note here that the traditions of the natives assign the same personal content to animals and even plants as to human beings. Of this Spencer and Gillen say :

In the Alcheringa lived ancestors who, in the native mind, are so intimately associated with the animals and plants, the name of which they bear, that an Alcheringa of, say, the kangaroo totem may sometimes be spoken of either as a man-kangaroo or a kangaroo-man. The identity of the individual is often sunk in that of the animal or plant from which he is supposed to have originated.<sup>38</sup>

In describing the social life of some of the tribes of southeastern Australia, Howitt points out that it was believed that the various customs were instituted by the deceased headman, who is now regarded as a deity. He was also feared because it was thought that he would punish all violations of these customs by sickness or death.

The mythology of the Tlinkits centers about the experiences of Jelch, the raven. His sayings are widespread among the

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 187, 394.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.

people and form their rules of conduct. The ruling principle in their lives is: "As Jelch lived so must we live."<sup>39</sup>

The civilization myth of the Incas relates that men were savages dwelling in caves like wild beasts devouring wild roots and fruit and human flesh, covering themselves with leaves and bark or skins of animals. But our father, the Sun, took pity on them, and sent two of his children, Manco Caepac and his sister-wife, Mama Ocello; these rose from the lake of Titicaca, and gave to the uncultured hordes law and government, marriage and moral order, tillage and art and science. Thus was founded the great Peruvian Empire, where in after-ages each Inca and his sister-wife, continuing the mighty race of Manco Ceapac and Mama Ocello, represented in rule and religion not only the first royal ancestors, but the heavenly father and mother of whom we can see these to be personifications, namely, the Sun himself, and his sister-wife, the Moon.<sup>40</sup>

Of the character of the mythology of the American Indians, in general, and as relating to leadership, Brinton says:

The native tribes of this continent had many myths, and among them there was one which was so prominent, and recurred with such strangely similar features in localities widely asunder, that it has for years attracted my attention, and I have been led to present it as it occurs among several nations far apart, both geographically and in point of culture. This myth is that of the national hero, their mythical civilizer and teacher of the tribe, who, at the same time was often identified with the supreme deity and the creator of the world. It is the fundamental myth of a very large number of American tribes and on its recognition and interpretation depends the correct understanding of most of their mythology and religious life. The outlines of this legend are to the effect that in some exceedingly remote time this divinity took an active part in creating the world and fitting it to be the abode of man. At any rate, his interest in its advancement was such that he personally appeared among the ancestors of the nation and taught them the useful arts, gave them the maize or other food plants, initiated them into the mysteries of their religious rites, framed the laws which governed their social relations, and, having thus started them on the road to self-development, he left them, not suffering death, but disappearing in some way from their view. Hence it was nigh universally expected that at some time he would return. As elsewhere the world over, so in America many tribes had to tell of such a personage, some such august character, who taught them what they knew, the tillage of the soil, the properties of plants, the art of picture-writing, the secrets of magic; who founded their institutions and established their religions, who governed them long with glory

<sup>39</sup> Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, pp. 253 ff.

<sup>40</sup> Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I, 354.

abroad and peace at home; and finally, did not die, but like Frederick Barbarossa, Charlemagne, King Arthur, and all great heroes, vanished mysteriously, and still lives somewhere, ready at the right moment to "return to his beloved people and lead them to victory and happiness."<sup>41</sup>

In New Britain, *To Kabinana*, a mythical personage, is considered the founder, creator, or inventor of all good and useful things. Fruitful land, well-built houses, fine fish-traps, were all his work or inventions; also all good institutions, customs, and usages are supposed to have been derived from him.<sup>42</sup>

The eponymous hero of the Chinese, Fu Hi, is the reputed founder of the empire. He

invented nets and snares for fishing and hunting, and taught his people how to rear domestic animals. To him also is ascribed the institution of marriage.<sup>43</sup>

In his discussion of *The Aryan Household*, where we reach a more highly developed form of association than hitherto considered, Hearn says:

Wherever there was a clan there was an eponym, or founder whether real or legendary, of that clan.

The eponym was the original house spirit and a deceased ancestor. Among the Aryans,

kinship comprised every social relation, every tie that binds man to life; and with them kinship implied a constant and vivid reference to the founder of their kin, the eponymous hero of their clan, or of their race.<sup>44</sup>

The founder of the ancient city was

the man who accomplished the religious act without which a city could not exist. He established the hearth where the sacred fire was eternally to burn. He it was who, by his prayers and his rites, called the gods, and fixed them forever in the new city. We can understand how much respect would be felt for this holy man. During his life men saw in him the author of a religion and the father of a city; after death he became a common ancestor for all the generations that succeeded him. He was for the city what the first ancestor was for the family—a *Lar familiaris*. His memory was perpetuated like the hearth-fire which he had lighted. Men established a worship for him, and believed him to be a god; and the city adored him

<sup>41</sup> *American Hero Myths*, p. 27.

<sup>42</sup> Danks, "Marriage Customs of the New Britain Group," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, pp. 281, 282.

<sup>43</sup> Keane, *Man: Past and Present*, p. 24.

<sup>44</sup> *The Aryan Household*, p. 143.

as its providence. Sacrifices and festivals were renewed every year over his tomb.<sup>45</sup>

The question now arises as to the value of these myths and traditions, as evidence in relation to the evolution of leadership and institutions. Though it is clear that there is an element of exaggeration in them, and that they are out of proportion to what really happened, still they present a fundamental trait in human nature and association. Their universality is further evidence of the innate character of reverence and of the profound need of leadership. Memory always tends to deify the great leader after his death, and hero-worship and the growth of the mythical element about any exceptional personality are not confined to the more primitive peoples. Says Mr. Lyall:

It does not follow, because a tribe claims its descent from a god, that the divine founder is a personage entirely mythical, as some comparative mythologers do vainly imagine. He is quite as likely to be a real hero deified, for the founder of at least one Rajput state, who is as authentic as any historic personage can be in India, is freely worshiped by his clan to this day.<sup>46</sup>

Moreover, these traditions could never have got into the attention of any people without having some intimate relation to their life. For the most part, they are concerned with the great problems of the group, the chief epochs and turning-points in its history. They center about the great crises in the life of a group, and memory has deified the heroes who carried the group through these difficulties and enabled it to adapt itself to the changed conditions. This evidence, therefore, apparently points to the great personality or leader as the forerunner of institutional life. He is not only the leader of the people during his life, but, if great enough, apotheosis makes him the leader of the group after his death, so that he continues to help or hinder men in the expression of their social impulses, either aiding in the maintenance or sanctioning changes of the customs and institutions of which, in a true sense, he was the founder.

*The native tribes of Australia.*—In the study of the further evolution of leadership and institutions under the maternal and paternal systems of social organization, the Australians afford at

<sup>45</sup> Coulanges, *The Ancient City*, p. 188.

<sup>46</sup> Quoted by Hearn,, *loc. cit.*

least three excellent advantages. In the first place, they are typical hunters, making them especially valuable for this investigation which emphasizes the influence of occupations. Secondly, their exceptionally long period of isolation from the influence of foreign peoples removes one of the complicating factors in social development and makes it possible for us to get a clearer view of the other forces which have contributed to the evolution of social organization. In the third place, they have been very carefully studied by the ethnologists, which goes far toward removing one of the primary objections to conclusions drawn from data relating to primitive peoples, namely, the unreliability of the data. While they are a comparatively homogenous people, both in physical and mental characters, the great diversity of the wide extent of territory peopled by them has given rise to the development of important local differences in social organization and in these discrepancies from the common principles upon which their early life was based we may hope to find some of the causal factors in their social evolution.

The basal principle of their social organization is the division of the tribe into two exogamous intermarrying groups, and in the attempt to understand their social life this fact must be kept constantly in mind. Indeed, the fact that this form of organization is characteristic of primitive peoples everywhere at a certain stage of development warrants a comparatively full description of it here, for upon the comprehension of its meaning must depend, to a great extent, our understanding of the evolution of personality and institutions. This principle of social organization has been made the basis of classification of the different Australian tribes by such careful students of their evolution as Messrs. Spencer, Gillen, Fison, and Howitt. On the basis of this principle, Mr. Howitt distinguishes four types of organization, corresponding to the nature of the food conditions of the different parts of the continent. They are: (a) the Barkinji; (b) the Kamilaroi; (c) the Waramunga or Arunta; (d) the abnormal types.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>47</sup> *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 31, 72. Also, for a more recent and complete description of these types of organization, see Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 88-295.



The Barkinji type of organization is found in the south-central and southwestern portions of the continent. This region is a vast desert country, where, with the exception of a short period during the rainy season, the food supply is very poor. This type of social organization is the simplest in Australia. It includes all those systems which have two primary classes and a group of totems belonging to each, descent being counted through the mother. A man can neither marry a woman in his own class nor in his own totem. There are also further restrictions which tend to prevent marriage of near relatives. A more detailed description of the system cannot be given here, but, for our purpose, its salient features, as exemplified in the Urabunna tribe, which may be taken as typical of this kind of organization, are summarized by Spencer and Gillen, as follows:

(1) a group of men all of whom belong to one moiety of the tribe who are regarded as the *Nupas* or possible husbands of a group of women who belong to the other moiety of the tribe; (2) one or more women specially allotted to one particular man, each standing in the relationship of *Nupa* to the other, but no man having exclusive right to any one woman, only a preferential right; (3) a group of men who stand in the relationship of *Pirungaru* to a group of women selected from amongst those to whom they are *Nupa*. In other words, a group of women of a certain designation are actually the wives of a group of men of another designation.<sup>48</sup>

From the description of this type it will be seen that there exists what Spencer and Gillen have called "a modified form of group marriage," and they state that "the less complex the organization of a tribe, the more clearly do we see evidence of what Messrs. Howitt and Fison have called, in regard to Australian tribes, 'group marriage.'" They add that "individual marriage does not exist either in name or in practice in the Urabunna tribe," and the investigations of this type by Messrs. Fison, Howitt, and Gason tend to corroborate their statement. The opportunity for choice on the part of the individuals most immediately concerned in the marriage relation is slight. It is important to note here that they are "allotted" to each other in marriage, and the initiation and leadership in the allotment is taken by the elder brothers of the women and by the old men of the group. Not only the leader-

<sup>48</sup> *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 64.

ship of the old men, but also that of the more influential and popular men, is manifested in the expression of the marriage relationships.

The number of a man's Piraungaru depends entirely upon the measure of his power and popularity; if he be what is called *urku*, a word which implies much the same as our word "influential," he will have a considerable number; if he be insignificant or unpopular, then he will meet with scanty treatment.<sup>40</sup>

But the emphasis upon the collective phase of association and the limitation of choice and voluntary activity largely to a few of the elders in this kind of organization is not confined to the sexual relations, but extends to food, property, political, religious, and, in fact, all interests. The collective element plays the most prominent part both in securing and in distributing food, property in land is communal, and political and religious control presents but a small degree of the personal as distinguished from the groupal influence and control by unanalyzed custom.

Political leadership in the groups belonging to this kind of organization is secured by purely personal characteristics, such as superior ability as a hunter, orator, wizard, warrior, etc. But the power obtained is very meager, ill-defined, and temporary, and does not extend over the whole tribe, but is limited to the local group, horde, or totem. Rank or position is not transmitted by inheritance. One notable exception to this general rule, in the person of Jalina Piramurana, headman of the Dieri, is very instructive as to the influence of a great personality in modifying custom and building up new institutions. Jalina was a genius in the control of others. Of his ability and authority Mr. Gason says:

He was feared and greatly respected by his own and by the neighboring tribes. Neither his two brothers, both of them inferior to him in bravery and oratorical powers, nor the elder men presumed to interfere with his will or to dictate to the tribe except in minor matters. It was he who decided when and where the ceremonies of circumcision and initiation should take place. His messengers called together people from a circle of a hundred miles to attend the peace festivals, to attend his councils, or in other matters which were considered to affect the welfare of the tribe. I have often been invited to

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.

attend his councils, when they proposed to celebrate any grand ceremony. He possessed wonderful powers of oratory, making his listeners believe anything he suggested, and at all times ready to execute his commands. His disposition was not naturally cruel or treacherous, as was that of many of the Dieri, but he was, when not excited, patient and very hospitable. I never saw anything low or mean in him. As a rule, the Dieri, being separated from all but their own relations, speak ill of each other; but I never heard anyone speak of this man but with the greatest respect and reverence. I have often watched him distributing presents to all his personal friends with an evident desire to prevent jealousy. I have seen him put a stop to disputes or fights, even chastising the offenders and not infrequently being himself wounded in so doing. On such an occasion there would be great lamentation, and the person who had inflicted the wound on him would usually be beaten. He was one of the greatest of the *Kunkis* (medicine-men), . . . was the son of the previous headman, . . . and was not only the headman of his totem, but also of the whole local organization. In connection with the question as to the existence of recognized authority among the Australian blacks, the fact is especially valuable that Jalina periodically visited the various hordes of the Dieri, and that they sent to him periodically presents which were acknowledged by him in person or by deputy. Such presents were even sent to him from a distance of three hundred miles by tribes beyond the Dieri boundaries, being passed on from tribe to tribe.<sup>50</sup>

It will be seen from this illustration that the power of personality annuls the principle of succession in the female line, and Jalina succeeds his father who was also an influential leader. Authority is extended to the whole tribe. Contrary also to the general rule of limitation of authority exclusively to the aged, apparently here is a young man employing exceptional power. It is through such personal influence as this that institutional life must have begun. Given the proper conditions, the prerogatives which Jalina exercised would receive permanent recognition by the group, and institutional life, as distinguished from the dominant control of instincts and customs, would begin. It should be noted that Jalina, as well as many other headmen of the Australians, either individually or in connection with the councils, settled disputes, and they were thus the first inhibitive centers acting upon the more direct and unreflective processes of revenge and paving the way for the judgeship, for law and the courts. However, the

<sup>50</sup> Quoted by Howitt, *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XX, pp. 65, 66.

councils were not merely inhibitive centers, but were also the earliest social centers of discussion and reflective activity in the expression of the political interests, and so functioned both as inhibiting and as stimulating factors in the social process. The headmen and the councils constitute the two principal forms of political authority in this type of organization as well as throughout Australia. The council is usually found in each group, and is composed of the distinguished elderly men of the group, such as the warriors, orators, medicine-men, wizards, heads of totems and hordes. The headman of the horde or totem presides at the meetings of the council.

The Kamilaroi type of organization occupies a large area northeast of the Barkinji; it is also found in western Australia. This territory is better watered, more fertile, and has a greater food supply for an aboriginal population. Howitt's theory is that the Kamilaroi organization is a development from the Barkinji type. He says:

The Kamilaroi type may be shortly described as one in which a community divides into two primary classes, with four subclasses and with groups of totems corresponding to them. Descent in this type is generally in the female line. There are, however, exceptions which are of sufficient range to form a separate type.<sup>51</sup>

In the tribes belonging to this type there is a stronger tendency toward the individualizing of the marriage relation and of the other societary activities than in the groups belonging to the Barkinji type.

The Waramunga or Arunta type is characteristic of a large number of tribes in the center of the continent. It consists of eight intermarrying classes, with descent in the male line. The growth of individual as opposed to communal relationship is still more noticeable among the tribes of this class. The counting of descent in the male line is an advance toward the individual family and the principle of succession to position and property through inheritance, with the wide influence which these changes have upon the individualizing of all other social relations and the larger institutional expression of the voluntary activity of the individual.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 42.

The tendency toward more permanent forms of leadership, or the institutionalization of authority, is easily traceable in its political aspects. Each local group, however small, has a headman (*Alatunja*), but chieftainship of the whole tribe has not yet been acknowledged as an institution, though cases occasionally occur in which a headman of a numerically important group, or a leader of extraordinary skill as a hunter or fighter, or one possessing exceptional knowledge of the ancient customs and traditions, will acquire considerable authority beyond his own group, or even become the leader of the whole tribe; but such a position passes with the passing of the particular leader. In the local group, however,

the *Alatunja* is not chosen for the position because of his ability; the post is one which, within certain limits, is hereditary, passing from father to son, always providing that the man is of the proper designation; that is, for example, in a Kangaroo group the *Alatunja* must of necessity be a Kangaroo man.<sup>52</sup>

This establishment of the hereditary principle with reference to political leadership is a distinct advance over the groups hitherto considered. But in other respects the advance is not so evident. The authority which the headman exercises is still vague. "He has no definite power over the persons of the individuals who are members of his group." He calls the council of elder men, but the real influence which he has in the council must depend upon his personal ability, and no superior authority is given to his advice or command simply because of his position or age. He has charge of "the sacred storehouse," and also takes the leading part in the *Intichiuma*, or special ceremony for increasing the supply of animal or plant after which the group is named. In directing the ceremony, he must adhere strictly to the customs of his ancestors.

While there are unmistakable evidences of the growth of the subjective individual, and of a more definite form of leadership and the institutional expressions of growth in this type of organization, yet personal and voluntary control is greatly circumscribed by the control of custom. Though there is an advance toward

<sup>52</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *loc. cit.*, pp. 9 ff.

individualized as opposed to collective activities, still it is significant that the terms of relationship are not modified, but remain groupal as in the more primitive, communal types of organization.

The remaining tribes have been included under the designation of "abnormal types." These are or were located chiefly along the eastern coast, between the Great Dividing Range and the sea. This coast region includes the best-watered and most fertile districts of the continent. There is a much more abundant supply of animal and plant food. In most cases descent is counted in the male line, and the development of leadership and institutions is higher than in the other parts of the continent. The increase of authority among these tribes is apparently due to the greater complexity of their societary life under the better conditions. They are more sedentary, and with more coherent and valuable interests to defend are, of necessity, more warlike, making the need of leadership and authority greater than in the other tribes of the continent. In the Gournditch-Mara tribe

the office of headman in the tribe was hereditary. When the headman died, he was succeeded by his son, or failing a son by his next male relative. This was the law of the tribe before any whites came into the country. The headman had the power of proclaiming war, and when he did this, all the men of the tribe were obliged to follow him. He settled all quarrels and disputes in the tribe. When he had heard both sides and had given his decision in a matter, no one ever disputed it. In war all spoils were brought to him, who divided them among his men, after having reserved the best for himself. The men of the tribe were under an obligation to provide him with food, and to make all kinds of presents to him, such as a kangaroo and opossum rugs, stone tomahawks, spears, flint knives, etc.<sup>53</sup>

#### In the western district of Victoria

every tribe has its chief, who is looked upon in the light of a father, and whose authority is supreme. He consults with the best men of the tribe, but when he announces his decision, they dare not contradict or disobey him. Great respect is paid to the chiefs, and their wives and families. . . . The succession of the chieftom is by inheritance. . . . The eldest son is appointed, unless there is some good reason for setting him aside. If there are no sons, the deceased chief's eldest brother is entitled to succeed him, and the inheritance runs in the line of his family. Failing him, the inheritance devolves upon the other brothers and their families in succession. If the

<sup>53</sup> Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 276.

heir is weakly in body, or mentally unfitted to maintain the position of chief—which requires to be filled by a man of ability and bravery—and if he has a brother who is more eligible in the opinion of the tribe, or who aspires to the dignity, the elder brother must either yield or fight the younger brother in single combat, at the first great meeting, for the supremacy.<sup>54</sup>

The influence of this greater and more definite authority of the earthly leader is reflected in their higher conception of the attributes and functions of the spirits.

From this examination of the four types of class organization in Australia, it may be noted that with increasing complexity or subdivision of the two primary classes there is an increase of individual relationships and personal control, and a decrease in communal relationships. The influence of the class organization and of the elders in marriage is weakened in certain localities by elopements, marriage by exchange, capture, and purchase. Moreover, physical barriers and great diversity of food areas, making possible only small and shifting groups in some localities, and more settled and larger groups in the more favored regions, tend to create local organizations which are antagonistic to the class organizations. The class organization which has just been described shows many dissimilarities in the various regions of the continent, but, on the whole, it may be taken as representing the generic and communal side of their social development, while local organizations may be regarded as representing primarily the particularizing, differentiating, and individualizing forces in their societary life. Howitt compares the two organizations as follows:

In the aggregate of the whole community these two sets of divisions are conterminous, but no division of the one set is conterminous with any division of the other. That is to say, the people of any given locality are not all of the same totem, nor are the people of one totem in the community collected in the same locality. . . . This is the general rule. But a few exceptions are known to us, where the local organization has prevailed over the social, the line of descent has changed to that through males, and all the people in a certain locality have come to bear the same totem.<sup>55</sup>

In addition to the exceptions referred to by Howitt, it may be added that this latter movement has been the tendency among

<sup>54</sup> Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, pp. 5, 6.

<sup>55</sup> *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XIV, p. 142.

the tribes of north-central Australia and along the eastern coast. In the interactions and conflicts between the class organizations and the local organizations are found some of the strongest stimuli toward changes of customs and institutions. The local organization is largely antagonistic to the social or class organization, though, perhaps, unconsciously so. Its tendency is to restrict the influence of the class organization, to bring about descent through males, to individualize the food, property, and marriage relations, to reorganize society on the basis of individual rather than collective principles, and to become the germ of the state.

*[To be concluded.]*